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PARTIES' LEADERS EXPLAIN STANDS ON NORDIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 18 Jun 81 p 8

[Article by Flemming Ytzen]

[Text] Only three of the parties of the Folketing, viz. the Radical Liberal Party, the Socialist People's Party, and the Left-Socialist Party, advocate that the Scandinavian countries should unilaterally conclude a treaty making the Nordic countries a nuclear-free zone, without demanding beforehand that the Soviet nuclear arms arsenal on the Kola peninsula and in the Baltic be withdrawn. Most of the other parties state that a declared nuclear-free zone will have political significance only if other parts of Europe are included--and, in this connection, they primarily have in mind the Baltic and the Kola peninsula. Two parties--the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party--state that it is completely 'illusory' to launch the subject.

The question of establishing formally a nuclear-free zone comprising the Nordic countries has lately become an increasingly central issue in political debates although the subject is not at all of recent date. The Danish government has, on several occasions, stated its position: that the government regards the Nordic countries as being, in actual fact, nuclear-free and, therefore, only wants to formalize this status provided it may be included in a 'broader European context' and provided adjoining areas in which nuclear weapons are deployed will be included.

The Adjoining Areas

In January of this year, Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen answered a question from Ib Christensen of the Single-Tax Party. The question was as follows: "Does the government want to enter into positive considerations, perhaps together with the Norwegian government, of the establishment by treaty of a nuclear-free zone comprising the Nordic countries and, possibly, adjoining parts of the Warsaw Pact area?"

In his reply, the prime minister said, among other things: "A confirmation by treaty of the Nordic countries' actual nuclear-free condition is, in the opinion of the government, neither necessary nor desirable.

The government, however, has been continuously prepared to consider the possibility of formalizing the status of the Nordic countries as a nuclear-free zone, provided this could take place as a link in the establishment of a general European security arrangement. A necessary prerequisite of an agreement on such an arrangement would be that adjoining areas--including areas in which nuclear weapons are deployed and which are bordering on the Nordic area--be included in the nuclear-free zone."

In his reply, the prime minister supports the view expressed by the Norwegian government to the effect that a Nordic nuclear-free zone has two prerequisites:

"To the Nordic countries, an agreement must comprise the tactical Soviet nuclear weapons deployed on the Kola peninsula and in the Baltic area. And, secondly, the idea must be regarded in connection with agreements which will comprise other parts of Europe. The fact that the Nordic countries are a nuclear-free area provides a good point of departure for making a request as done by the Norwegian government," Anker Jørgensen wrote.

In a Wider Context

In April, the Danish prime minister paid an official visit to Finland, and he here stated in no uncertain terms that the question of declaring the Nordic countries a nuclear-free zone was a subject he no longer "felt like discussing."

Apparently, Anker Jørgensen has changed his stand somewhat since then. At a meeting in May among the leaders of the Nordic Social Democratic parties and trade union movements in Stockholm, the Danish prime minister participated in the adoption of a resolution which said, among other things:

"The Nordic countries have contributed to stability and relaxation in all of Europe by desisting from procuring nuclear weapons or allowing other countries to deploy such weapons in any of the territories controlled by them in times of peace. The Nordic countries should examine what common ground they have in the question of a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries for a nuclear disarmament in a broader European context."

The desire to find a "common ground" in the question is sensational in that the subject has been discussed continuously for more than 25 years without the Nordic countries having been able to reach a joint stand. The text is, moreover, remarkable in that neither the Kola peninsula nor the Baltic is mentioned directly, which is probably out of regard for the Finns. The words "in a broader European context" excludes that the Nordic countries unilaterally and isolated declare themselves a nuclear-free zone--which is the idea which the Finnish President Kekkonen has been advocating since the early sixties.

Freedom from Nuclear Weapons Undermined

INFORMATION has asked all of the parties of the Folketing to state which stand they take on the question of formalization of the Nordic nuclear-free zone and on what conditions it may take place.

As mentioned earlier, only three parties, the Radical Liberal Party, the Left-Socialist Party, and the Socialist People's Party, state that the Nordic countries should, on an isolated basis, declare themselves nuclear-free, i.e. without, at the same time, making demands primarily to the Soviet Union for the removal of nuclear weapons deployed in areas adjoining the Nordic countries.

Steen Folke, defense spokesman for the Left-Socialist Party, says of the position of the government on this issue:

"The freedom from nuclear weapons to which they refer has actually been undermined by the aircraft reinforcement agreement concluded by Denmark with the United States in the past. For the agreement does not exclude the possibility that these aircraft might carry nuclear weapons, and the defense minister has admitted that this possibility exists. Consequently, it is irrelevant whether we have nuclear weapons on Danish soil if the same weapons may be brought here in the course of a few hours," Steen Folke says. He adds that the very agreements on reinforcements entered into with Denmark's NATO allies make the demand for a Nordic nuclear-free zone topical. "The Left-Socialist Party advocates such a zone based on guarantees from the big powers," says Steen Folke.

[Question] What are such guarantees to include?

[Answer] Both that nuclear weapons cannot be deployed in the Nordic area and, of course, also that such weapons cannot be used against the Nordic countries. It should also be included that nuclear weapons may not be transported via Nordic waters.

[Question] Does the Left-Socialist Party also advocate that Soviet submarines carrying nuclear weapons shall not be allowed in the Baltic?

[Answer] In principle, we shall like to include them as well, that is clear. But in practice we find that one ought to limit oneself to the Nordic countries in the first instance. But if they want to include the Kola peninsula and the Baltic, it is to avoid the realization of such a zone. When, in the past, the demand was mobilized in the Norwegian Labor Party, it was, in our opinion, a tactical trick, the purpose of which was partly to accommodate the forces working for the cause but, in actual fact, to remove the points of substance from the demand. We, therefore, reject it as mere tactics to include the Kola peninsula and the Baltic. And the fact that they do not, at the same time, demand the removal of U.S. nuclear arms deployed just south of the Danish border clearly shows the hypocrisy.

[Question] If you go in for a Nordic nuclear-free zone without including adjoining areas in the conditions, ought it then not to be the immediate consequence of a declared nuclear-free zone that, for example, the Kola peninsula and the Baltic be cleared of tactical nuclear weapons which are intended for the Nordic area?

[Answer] Yes, but it is not realistic to believe that the Soviet Union will make unilateral concessions, and the United States, therefore, must at the same time remove the nuclear weapons deployed in South Schleswig immediately south of the Danish border. In that context, the demand becomes realistic, Steen Folke says.

He states, incidentally, that the issue will become the subject of a debate in the Folketing as soon as it opens in October. The Left-Socialist Party and the Socialist People's Party have jointly formulated a question for the debate, which runs as follows:

What information can the government provide on the plans for nuclear armament in Europe, and what is the government's evaluation of the possibility of making the Nordic countries a nuclear-free zone?

The chairman of the Socialist People's Party, Gert Petersen, says that the establishment of the Nordic countries as a nuclear-free zone will lead to a "needed revival of the efforts to achieve relaxation in Europe."

[Question] In the opinion of the Socialist People's Party, on what conditions is such a zone to be established?

[Answer] On the conditions included in the declaration adopted unanimously by the United Nations in 1978. According to these conditions, a country will neither in peace nor in war allow nuclear weapons to be deployed in its area, and the big powers will, on the other hand, guarantee that they will not threaten with nuclear weapons, carry through the deployment of nuclear weapons against the country in question. For that reason, we do not find either that the Kola peninsula must be included in such a zone, Gert Petersen says. He points out that when the nuclear-free zone treaty was concluded by a number of Latin American countries in the sixties, no demands were made for the removal of U.S. nuclear weapons in the bordering areas, and that the Latin American treaty, nevertheless, has furthered relaxation.

[Question] But is it not logical, Gert Petersen, that if the big powers are to make binding promises not to use nuclear weapons against or from the Nordic area, the short-range Soviet nuclear missiles on the Kola peninsula will also have to be removed?

[Answer] That would be absurd. For even if the Kola peninsula were cleared of nuclear missiles, we should not be able to check whether other Soviet nuclear weapons were intended for use against the Nordic countries. We shall never be able to check that. A demand for control is made which is impracticable--and the whole idea thus becomes unfeasible. If a demand is to be made toward the Soviet Union, parallel demands must also be made toward the United States. In that case, corresponding demands should be made for the removal of U.S. nuclear submarines off the Norwegian coast, and it should be demanded of West Germany and the United States that they remove nuclear arms

stockpiles in Schleswig-Holstein. And if one does that, the project is already becoming impracticable. We should get into the situation in which we have been so many times before that none of the parties will yield.

Gert Petersen adds that a unilateral Nordic initiative is calculated to have an inspiring effect on a few of the Balkan countries, and that several European countries, both in East and West, might exert pressure on the big powers to speed up negotiations on European nuclear weapons. "And it is, after all, easiest to start where no nuclear weapons are deployed," Gert Petersen says.

May Clear Path

Jens Bilgrav-Nielsen of the Radical Liberal Party says that his party will work for an agreement on paper to the effect that we do not get any nuclear weapons "neither in times of peace nor in times of war" in the Nordic countries.

"We consider it unrealistic to demand that bordering areas be included in such a zone. But there might be a need to agree on special traffic regulations for the Baltic where warships are transporting nuclear weapons. The actual removal of nuclear arms, both from the Baltic and from the Kola peninsula, belongs under negotiations which must take place in a larger East-West context. The Nordic countries may prepare the way for such negotiations by declaring the area a nuclear-free zone, and that we can do because we actually have no nuclear weapons in our area," Jens Bilgrav-Nielsen says. He points out that a natural consequence of a Nordic nuclear-free zone would be a 'dissipation' of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in the Kola peninsula.

Arne Melchior of the Center Democrats tells INFORMATION that his party does not find a need for entering into a treaty on a Nordic nuclear-free zone "because we actually are without nuclear weapons."

"The issue is nonsense, and it will be impossible to conclude a treaty because the Nordic countries have never been able to pursue a joint policy within the areas of foreign policy and security policy," Arne Melchior says.

Chr. Christensen of the Christian People's Party says: "The Nordic countries are nuclear-free, so, therefore, it is no problem. If a treaty were to be made, the Kola peninsula ought to be included."

The Liberal member of the Foreign Policy Committee, Arne Christiansen says that it is illusory to broach the subject. "And it is a diversionary maneuver that the subject is now to be discussed in the security and disarmament policy committee of the government. There are other subjects which are far more urgent," Arne Christiansen tells INFORMATION.

Palle Simonsen of the Conservative Party states that he agrees on the stand of the Liberal Party and says that the matter of the treaty only makes sense if the Nordic countries demand that the Kola peninsula be included.

"It is a well-known fact that it is the Soviet Union which has got nuclear weapons in the area and the rest of us who do not," Palle Simonsen says. Just like the chairman of the Liberal Party, Henning Christophersen, has Palle Simonsen as a member of the Security and Disarmament Policy Committee announced that they do not find the subject either particularly relevant or urgent.

"I have protested against the choice of subject because it reflects wrong priorities. A phantom has been introduced into the security policy, and the debate on the subject is one-sided and marked by demagogy," the Conservative defense spokesman adds.

Broader Solution

It Christensen of the Single-Tax Party says that his party supports the idea, but that both the Kola peninsula, the Baltic and Schleswig-Holstein must be included.

"It is important to carry through a broader solution, so, therefore, both parts must contribute something, but a broader European solution, as discussed by the government, is not absolutely necessary. We find that one may start with the Nordic countries and the adjoining areas," the political spokesman for the Single-Tax Party states. Finally, John Arentoft of the Progressive Party says that "although the idea of a Nordic nuclear-free zone is beautiful, it only makes sense if the Soviet Union is demanded to remove nuclear weapons from the Baltic as well as the Kola peninsula."

Next Sunday, the big European peace march will start to Paris via Kiel and Brussels. The march will be carried through under the slogans "The Nordic countries as a nuclear-free zone" and "Nuclear-free Europe from Poland to Portugal."

7262

CSO: 3106/135

BRIEFS

OIL TALKS WITH MEXICO--Energy Minister Poul Nielson did not bring back any new oil contract in his suitcase when last night he returned from a visit to Mexico, and he made it clear on his arrival that such a contract will not be concluded either unless the private oil companies are interested. Consequently, no new date has been fixed for a continuation of the negotiations on a company level, and Poul Nielson stated that he did not consider it likely for such negotiations to be undertaken within the immediate future. Mexican oil is a couple of dollars less expensive than the oil which Poul Nielson bought last year in Saudi Arabia, but it is also of considerably poorer quality. It, therefore, will be difficult fitting any major quantities into the Danish supply system, and the oil will, moreover, present problems in the refineries. Poul Nielson, furthermore, stated that the Mexican standard contract for state oil deals had been examined closely within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prior to the minister's departure, and nothing had been found here that might give rise to any political debate as was the case with the so-called perfect Saudi contract. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 20 Jun 81 p 3] 7:62

CSO: 3106/135

MINISTRY REPORT RESTATES EMPHASIS ON ENERGY FORESTS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 2 Jun 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Profitability As a Condition for Resorting to Aid for Energy"]

[Text] Under 50 percent of our total energy production now comes from domestic sources. By the year 2000 that figure will have grown to over 50 percent. This is what the Energy Forest Commission, established over 5 years ago by the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry, estimated in its partial consideration of the matter early last year. In the commission's opinion, within 2 decades the combined yield from the cultivation of timber for energy use and the effective gathering of wood will account for a fifth of our energy needs and about two-thirds of our current crude oil imports.

In its second consideration of the situation, now concluded, the commission feels that its estimate is still a realistic one. However, it believes that widespread cultivation of timber for energy will not be set in motion until the 1990's. During the present decade we will be concentrating on more intensive use of small timber growth.

On the whole, the outcome of these deliberations is a disappointment to those who expected that the commission would have been able to offer a practical loophole for optimistic predictions. In principle, the increased use of wood as a fuel is based both on the fact that it is domestically available and its renewability. A tree grows as long as the sun shines. In practice, however, wood can in general, economically speaking, more profitably be used as an industrial raw material, even though fuel prices have sharply risen. Despite the increased use of small timber in industry, there is still plenty of timber "left over" in the forests. It is worthwhile considering ways of making it possible to profitably gather this timber. The cultivation of fast-growing timber for energy use, on the other hand, yields far more growth per hectare than waste timber and the cultivation of timber for energy need not compete at all with the need for industrial timber either.

Studying the problems incurred in the cultivation of energy forests and removing the obstacles to it will doubtless require time and money, but there is plenty of room for effective action. The Forest Research Institute has completed a trail-blazing study. Before we launch any sort of widespread cultivation of timber for energy, aside from cultivation studies we will, however, need many-faceted studies as well as work on its practical development and application. Only thus will we be able to acquire some sort of guarantee as to the feasibility of such an operation.

The commission believes that the acquisition of and organizing of a distribution system for fuels will not constitute a problem if the operation is a profitable one. Problems involved in the gathering, hauling, distribution and storing of such fuels, however, constitute such essential feasibility issues that the answer to the question as to whether the requirements for the cultivation of timber for energy are or are not to be created will largely depend on them. The commission has also proposed the launching of a particularly many-faceted test operation. It is really about time this was done. Then too, a lot of time has been spent by the commission itself in pondering the problems envisioned.

Naturally, we cannot switch to the use of domestic energy sources at just any price. Therefore, we must be prepared to invest a considerable amount of money in the work to be done. This way, we will avoid costly errors in the investments themselves. Many other countries invest far more money in energy research than our own country. Nevertheless, among us there is a strong desire to raise the level of domestic energy production on a particularly large scale.

11,466

C30: 3107/100

NORWEGIAN STORTING APPROVES COOPERATION PACT WITH SWEDEN

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 3 Jun 81 p 6

[Text] On Friday the Storting unanimously approved the agreement between Norway and Sweden on economic cooperation, the protocol on the establishment of an industrial fund of 250 million Swedish kroner, the protocol on the long-range delivery of crude oil and oil products to Sweden and on the option of long-range delivery of electricity from Sweden.

During the debate, all the speakers gave the impression that the agreement and the protocols will strengthen Norwegian-Swedish and Nordic cooperation, but the members of the Foreign Policy Committee say that the agreement must not be used as a deterrent to common Nordic solutions to questions of cooperation.

Several speakers criticized the protocols concerning Norwegian delivery of oil for Swedish power and the delivery of goods from Sweden. The Conservative Party's parliamentary leader, Kare Willoch, and the two other members of the committee, Sverre Stray and Lars Roar Langset, thought it was unfortunate that the government did not reach an agreement for a commitment on delivery of Swedish lumber.

The government should have held fast to the principle of resource for resource, and not have given up the demand. Willoch also pointed out that the price of Swedish power is relatively high, but said that it will hardly be possible to get a commitment on lumber delivery worked into the protocol now. Therefore the Conservatives will recommend ratification. Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said that the internationalization of Norwegian industry was necessary because the home market was too small for Norwegian industry. This is some of the background to the Swedish agreement that, in her opinion, is a milestone in Nordic cooperation. The reaction in other Nordic countries also confirms that Norwegian-Swedish cooperation is considered to be an important step on the way to expanded Nordic cooperation, she said.

She said that to allow the agreement with Sweden to collapse because an agreement could not be reached on lumber delivery would have meant a giant step backwards for this cooperation.

9124

CSO: 3108/160

ECONOMIC PROJECTION SEES INCREASED FOREIGN DEPENDENCY

Protection of Competitive Ability

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 26 May 81 p 27

[Text] The growing dependency of Finland's national economy on other countries presupposes protection of our industry's ability to compete. We cannot abandon the principle of efficient production since industry's ability to compete on international markets will be threatened if production declines.

We will not be able to compete in a worldwide economy unless our industrial foundation is firm. This was the opinion of the Tasku Economic Planning Center in its report on the development of the national economy, "Finland 1995," which was published yesterday.

Worldwide economic problems are hitting Finland hard. The balance of trade has worsened and real income growth slowed down. Tasku, however, believes that production will at best rise on the average of 3 percent during the next 5 years.

The employment situation is getting to be more difficult than before. We have had to abandon the objective of full employment too.

Tasku is of the opinion that permanent reduction of the unemployment rate to below 4 percent by the customary methods will be very hard to achieve.

At Tasku they feel that improved protection against unemployment will to a certain extent remain at a high level and that, the longer we have a high rate of unemployment, the harder it will be to bring it down since supply and demand do not easily coincide with one another on the labor market.

Three Models

On the basis of the evolution of the world economy and Finland's own growth factors, Tasku concludes that there are three alternatives for the national economy. The alternative involving growth which will guarantee a favorable evolution of the society is based on a 3-percent average increase in production.

The interference and adaptation alternative is based on the possibility that the world economy may be subjected to a third oil crisis in the mid-1980's. In terms of the interference alternative, growth could cease entirely, at which point

we might achieve an average growth rate of one-and-a-half percent by means of a vigorous policy of adaptation to the situation.

Over 4 years ago Tasku published its "Finland 1990" report. There are many differences between it and the report that has just been published. Uncertainty and pessimism over the growth of the world economy have increased. Current problems are: tense political relations between East and West, poor cooperation between the rich North and the poor South, energy problems, protectionism or the threat of economic isolation, inflation and the instability of international foreign exchange systems.

Foreign Trade Balance

Tasku stresses the significance of the foreign trade balance in a free international economy. We would have to reduce the foreign debt's share of the GNP. Among other things, this would permit an expansion of development cooperation programs.

Foreign trade prices are rising rather sharply. In the long range it is estimated that import prices will rise faster than export prices. Because of this a substantial increase in export volume is absolutely necessary.

Foreign trade's share of the GNP is increased in all of Tasku's development alternatives. This means that international economic fluctuations would be reflected in Finland's production, employment and price structuring more noticeably than before. These fluctuations can be dampened by structuring trade and economic policy in more versatile ways. It is emphasized that constant expansion of the Soviet market is to Finland's advantage in cutting up the international cake. Much can also depend on the Nordic markets, although the "Swedish disease" clouds this prospect. In the future too, we should set our sights on OPEC and new industrial markets. On the other hand, we must be capable of adapting to increased imports coming from new industrial nations. Under the uncertain circumstances of the world economy, a great deal of attention will be paid to the handling of the national economy. In the report they note that the need for energy will surely increase if we succeed in maintaining economic growth.

The amount of energy produced from domestic sources will have to be raised to at least 40 percent of the total by 1995. The use of oil for energy will have to be reduced by at least a third. Tasku warns of the possibility of a shortage of oil, even though right now the danger of this is unlikely.

Sound Basic Structure

Tasku considers Finland's domestic chances of surmounting its problems in future as rather good. In the report they emphasize our country's sound basic structure. Among other things, this includes a feeling of togetherness, a favorable demographic structure, a high level of education, a high volume of investments, abundant forest reserves and controlled growth of the public sector.

It is emphasized that ongoing inflation, a worsening of the trade balance in future as well, technological obsolescence, major unemployment and a certain amount of social rigidity are threatening factors.

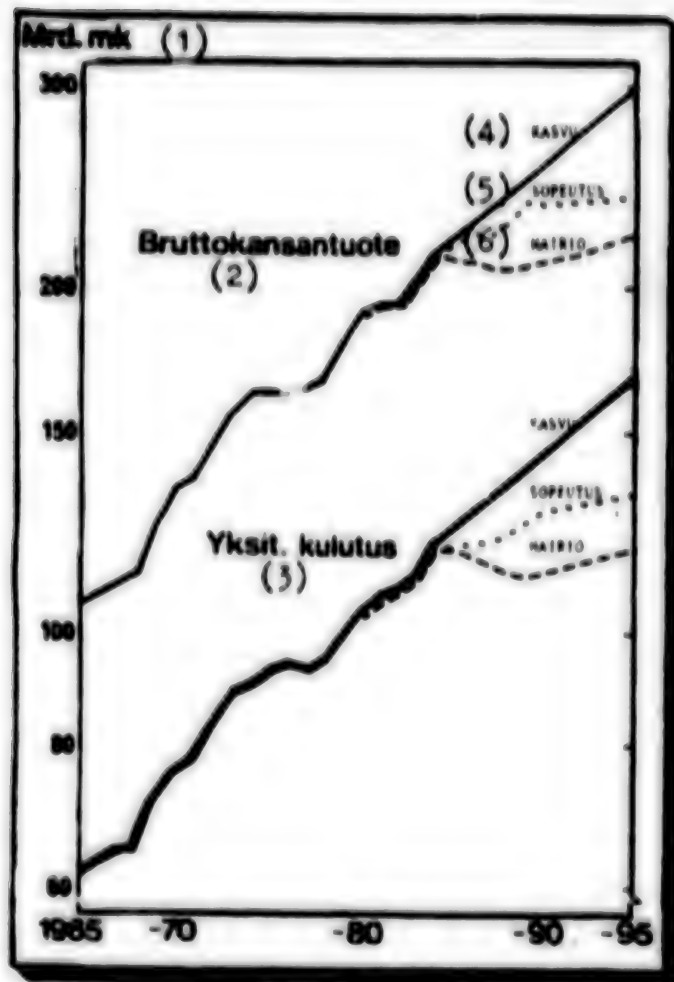
The rate of overall production is at best estimated at 3 percent and there will be no additional demand for manpower unless working time is shortened at the rate of about 1 percent a year, as has happened during the past few years. The number of unemployed can scarcely be reduced to less than 100,000 by shortening working time. It is estimated that the demand for labor will grow in the public welfare services.

Investments on the Rise

According to estimates, both the capital base and investments will grow slightly faster than the GNP by 1995. Overall investments may to some extent be reduced. They believe that investments in industry will increase rapidly whereas the growth of investments in housing and commerce will remain fairly low. We will see a lot of investments in equipment and facilities in connection with the renewal and updating of production machinery.

In the long run we should be able to fund investments in the national economy with our own savings. Investments in businesses will have to grow at a faster rate than the GNP. A bigger share of business investments than before will have to be financed through wage funds.

If a 3-percent change is realized, they believe that Finns' level of consumption will be over 50 percent higher than it is now by 1995. Per capita living area will rise from 25 to 30 square meters. Despite this, they believe that housing construction will drop slightly.



Key:

1. Billions of marks.
2. GDP.
3. Individual consumption.
4. Growth.
5. Adaptation.
6. Interference.

GDP in market prices and individual consumption in terms of the different alternatives for 1965-1995.

'Good Basis for Discussions'

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 28 May 81 p 27

[Text] The Finnish Employers Association (STK) considers the report, "Finland 1995," to be a good basis for further discussions.

Several of the views presented in the report on the shaping of future economic policy are worthy of note. Among these are the preservation of the necessary conditions for industrial competition and laying of emphasis on the significance of domestic energy.

According to STK general manager Pentti Somerto, the 4-percent unemployment figure estimated in the report seems to be a realistic one.

"The estimate comes very close. This figure corresponds to the approximately 2-percent unemployed of the 1960's. The current system of safeguards against unemployment in part favors unemployment. The Labor Ministry also collects and files those unemployed who belong elsewhere."

Problem of Attitudes

In the opinion of Labor Minister Jouko Kajanoja, the rate of unemployment should be forced down to less than 4 percent. He believes that a 2-percent rate can be attained.

"The problem will, however, become structurally more difficult unless we do something about it. The solution will require new kinds of attitudes. We ought to begin to organize the demand for labor in accordance with the supply. The job-protection system should also be substantially enlarged."

According to Central Chamber of Commerce assistant manager Paavo S. Vepsa, in the Tasku report a high marginal tax is something which is not recognized as a factor that weakens personal motivation and ambition.

More Details

Industrial Confederation assistant general manager Timo Relander says that the growth-oriented and considerably industry-favoring point of departure for the report has been properly chosen.

"I would, however, have needed more details on the measures by means of which these generally approved objectives would be achieved."

According to him, in the report not enough attention is paid to improving businesses' ability to compete, increasing potential for the self-financing of investments and developing their general operating requirements.

11,466
CSO: 3107/100

DUNKIRK, LE HAVRE PORTS EXPANDING TO TRANSSHIP COAL

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 21 May 81 pp 80-81

[Article by Francois Perrier: "Dunkirk and Le Havre are preparing for a return to the use of coal"]

[Text] A canal, a heavy-cargo pier, a bulk-goals terminal in Dunkirk, and gasification facilities in Le Havre: the two main receiving ports are actively getting ready for a return to the use of coal.

The seaports of Dunkirk and Le Havre are preparing for a return to the use of coal. Their new facilities will be ready by 1983. Construction has begun in Dunkirk; the heavy-cargo pier will be accessible to ships of 175,000 tons. Le Havre is waiting only for ministerial approval to start building a bulk-goals terminal accessible to 150,000-ton vessels. But further developments are expected in both areas; for Dunkirk, this is an opportunity to connect the two sections of its port by way of a canal. And Le Havre is awaiting confirmation of a gasification plant.

In Dunkirk, the expansion of the bulky materials traffic will require the digging of a canal between the two sections of the port, separated by 6 kms of sand and dunes.

The planning of the port's development includes an extension to the west, parallel to the shores with the building of a coastal breakwater enclosing a wet dock. Usinor has set itself up and the first stage has been carried out. The second stage was expected to begin with the coming of another industry, (the hope were particularly on ICI [Imperial Chemical Industries]) but those expectations have not yet been fulfilled because of the economic crisis. On the other hand, a harbor was built at the west end to let the large tankers in to begin with, then the container ships. Since the construction of the coastal breakwater has been delayed, the harbor is not connected to the river.

This deadlocked situation was of no consequence for earlier traffic; oil is piped to the two refineries in the industrial zone, and the containers are reconveyed by road and rail. The transportation of ore and coal differs altogether. For it is, indeed, the west port--opening on deep waters--which is to

receive the large ore carriers. Therefore, a river connection must be established between the two ports. The construction of the coastal breakwater, estimated to be too costly (450 million francs) unless supported by the setting up of some industries by the harbor thus delimited, has been rejected in favor of a temporary solution: a 5.5-kilometer-long canal, dug through the sand. It will have a lock on the east end, accessible to 12,000-ton ships, so the installation will also be usable by the average naval vessel, towboats and other servicing ships. The cost of building this temporary connection is estimated at 280 million francs. The project awaits the approval of the minister of transportation. He had best act promptly since the construction of the heavy-cargo pier is already underway. This connection will bring about a more efficient control of all harbor equipment, along with the development of the west port, the dead-end location of which made it doubtful.

An Interesting Gas for the Chemical Industry

The bulk-goods terminal will assure the sifting, washing and eventually the pulverization of the coal that will be used by industry. And the installation is ready for the next stage: gasification. In fact, the French Gas Company plans the construction of a so-called "demonstration unit" whose capacity would be 1,000 tons of coal per day. The engineering companies are already geared up to build this unit construction of which has not yet been officially disclosed. In Le Havre, they declare "We are facing a political problem, in the current context it is not easy to announce our decision to gasify imported coal." Anyway the plans are well underway: the project has an estimated cost of 1 billion francs, and the chances for cooperation between the manufacturers of Le Havre and GDR are under study. The gasification unit would indeed produce a gas of interest to the chemical industries, but its heating power would be inadequate for the French Gas Company. An exchange with refined gas could be made. The presence of the total group in the company exploiting the bulk goods terminal should facilitate matters.

The autonomous port of Le Havre has in fact associated the private sector with the project and the French refining Company has assumed the president's office of the company formed on this occasion. The oil company, thus reaffirms its interest in coal (besides being also a member of the society formed last month in Fos for the purpose of evaluating the prospects for coal traffic through the Mediterranean. Le Havre officials are taking advantage of these new installations to build a fine chemical industry on the spot, and for several months now they have been in touch with Phillips Petroleum.

For both ports, the prospects for expansion of the coal shipping are estimated at approximately 2 million tons over the next 4 years. The help obtained from nuclear power will lower the consumption of the EDF [French Electric Power Company], the main customer at the present time. On the other hand, the closing of the National Coal Mines will bring about considerable growth in imports after 1985. For the time being, each port will handle one-third of the maritime coal imports. Dunkirk received 8 million tons in 1980, and Le Havre 7 million of the 21.3 millions tons imported by sea.

Both want to retain this predominant position and be ready for the future.

9822

CSO: 3100/760

PRIVATE SECTOR APPROACH TO EEC EXPLORED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 22 Jun 81 p 5

[Article by Osman Ulugay]

[Text] One day Turkey will become a full member in the EEC. If in fact Turkey does join the Community, let there be no doubt at all that this will impact heavily on the daily lives of every Turkish citizen. Yet, we believe it is a fact that 99 percent of Turkish citizens don't know much about what Community membership means and regard it the same way as participation in NATO or the OECD.

Our private sector, which for a long time has been intimately concerned with the EEC matter but which has exhibited conflicting attitudes in the past, has announced that it is now "in perfect accord" on this issue and that it "supports without qualification" the National Security Council's decision to immediately initiate preparations necessary for full EEC membership.

In an announcement made to the press on 16 June on behalf of the Supreme Coordination Council of the Economic Development Foundation (EDF), mention is made of "similitudes reaching parity within the main principles embraced by Turkey and the Community." It is being noted that the decision in Turkey for a clear-cut transition to a "market economy" constitutes an important step toward integration with the Community. An awareness is expressed in the same announcement that joining the EEC cannot be achieved easily or without travail. It further observes, "It is sufficient guarantee that a fully vigorous state authority will not allow the preparations necessary (for full EEC membership) to be disrupted by sterile debate."

If we examine who makes up the Supreme Coordination Council of the EDF, which made this announcement, we see the Presidents of the Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir Chambers of Industry and Commerce, the Presidents of TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association) and TISK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions), the President of the Turkish Chambers of Agriculture Union as well as prominent industrialists and businessmen like Nejat Eczacıbaşı, Vehbi Koc, Sakıp Sabancı, Jak Kamhi, and Selcuk Yasar. An important absence is that of the Eskişehir Chamber of Industry.

Now without getting into the issue of how representative this council is of the Turkish private sector, let's take a break here and look at other developments regarding the EEC.

While Jak Kamhi, who spoke at the 17 June meeting of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Ordinary Assembly, was discussing the conference he attended in Spain chaired by EEC Commission Chairman Gaston Thor, he stated that the EEC is having problems accepting for full membership a country like Spain, which is far more economically advanced than Turkey. Kamhi stressed that a "state guarantee" carries great importance in persuading Europe to establish industry in countries like Spain and Turkey. Uzeyir Garih, who attended the same conference, emphasized the contacts that will be made with Europeans.

Beyond this, two noteworthy reports appeared in our press, which has been in disagreement throughout the week over the amount of the Fourth Financial Protocol initiated last week between the Community and Turkey. TUSIAD President Ali Kocman in a statement to 'Gunaydin' said, "EEC countries must view Turkey as a future member with the same intensity as Turkey covets its EEC partnership." Reliable observer of the Brussels and Strassbourg scene, M. Ali Birand wrote that Europe, at least for the present, is not viewing Turkey as Kocman would like. According to Birand, priority must be given European Parliament views in order to gain the release of some 700 million dollars in project credit slated for Turkey in the Fourth Financial Protocol. The European Parliament itself is preparing to produce a new resolution on Turkey in the beginning of July.

A private conversation we had with an EEC official confirms that the negative climate reported by Birand is gradually spreading over Europe. It is certainly impossible to regard the postponement of the "accommodation talks" being held with the Community and the EEC Ankara Information bureau's preparations for "hiatus" as positive developments with respect to Turkish-EEC relations in the near future.

The positive and negative aspects of Turkey's joining the Community are no doubt matters for a completely separate review and assessment. However, we believe it mandatory that our private sector representatives who seem determined to join henceforth accept that the "European reality" is not simply "free enterprise" and the "state guarantee" no panacea. They must then conduct themselves accordingly. We must see the European reality as a whole and should, in any case, not expect Europe to view us as a "future EEC country" as long as we cannot acquit ourselves accordingly.

CSO: 4654/58

STUDY PROFILES 'TYPICAL' SUPPORTER OF PARTIES

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 12 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Henrik Heie: "Glistrup Supporters among Workers Associated with Lower Middle Class"]

[Text] Supporters of Progressive Party work in building and construction enterprises as well as in commerce, while supporters of Social Democratic Party among workers are largely connected with transport, industry and the trades.

Even if the Progressive Party usually presents itself as the second-largest workers' party, a detailed analysis shows that the typical 'Progressive Party worker' differs from, for example, Social Democratic workers by being very closely associated with the lower middle class. They do this either by being married to or living with independent persons engaged in commerce or industry or by working in especially small enterprises where the contact with the owner is very close.

The analysis in question by research chief Erik Jørgen Hansen appears in a new publication from the Social Research Institute: Living conditions and position in the political spectrum (report No 35, 95 pages, 20 kroner. For sale on commission from Teknisk Forlag [Technical Publishers]. The analysis was carried out on the basis of the extensive study of living conditions undertaken in 1976.

Erik Jørgen Hansen has examined the following question: The extent to which, within each social stratum, it is either the living conditions of the individual (his present welfare) or his placement in the production process (large or small enterprise, trade, public or private enterprise) or his social background (father's work) that is the most decisive factor in determining the political party for which he votes.

This time, Erik Jørgen Hansen has limited his study to an analysis of the conditions of the two parties which in 1976 were the largest and second-largest parties, respectively, among unskilled workers, viz. the Social Democratic Party and the Progressive Party. The analyses of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party and the supporters of the Progressive Party are especially thorough among the two largest population categories, viz. white-collar workers and unskilled wage-earners.

Placement in Production Structure

A major outcome of the study is that the largest difference between the Social Democratic voters and the Progressive Party voters who belong to the same employment category is their exact placement in the production structure. Compared with Social Democratic voters, voters for the Progressive Party are, to a far smaller extent, employed within the public sector. Within the private sector, voters for the Progressive Party work more frequently in smaller enterprises with 1-4 employees, but their share drops the larger the enterprise becomes. To Social Democratic voters it applies conversely that their share increases sharply with the size of the enterprise.

Among those employed within the trades and industries, the Progressive Party has a particularly large share of voters within the building and construction sector as well as in commerce, and the smallest share of voters within the civil service and the liberal professions. On the other hand, the Social Democratic Party has relatively the largest number of supporters within transport, industry and the trades and relatively the smallest number of supporters in agriculture.

A more detailed analysis shows that especially female white-collar workers who are supporters of the Progressive Party to a marked degree come from the section of white-collar workers who work in commerce and/or through marriage and/or through social origin are closely connected with the category of independent people engaged in commerce or industry.

Unskilled wage-earners who are supporters of the Progressive Party resemble unskilled wage-earners supporting the Social Democratic Party in respect of many of the analysed social characteristics. But there is a much larger share of supporters of the Progressive Party among the relatively young people. Furthermore, among female unskilled workers who support the Progressive Party, an extremely large number is married to independent business people.

The analysis points out that the connection between social class and party affiliation becomes clearer the more detailed the breakdown is of the population on the basis of social categories. It thus contradicts a growing trend in the more recent research to undervalue the correlation between social class and political affiliation.

The conclusion is that, for example, the Social Democratic Party, to a still clearer degree, appears as a party with a social basis among workers and white-collar workers, while the Progressive Party, which has its basis both among independent business people and within the working class, as far as the working class is concerned, seems to have its largest support among the categories which in work or in private life are most closely connected with independent people engaged in urban commerce or industry.

PEACE MOVEMENT PREVAILS AT HAMBURG PROTESTANT CHURCH CONFERENCE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Jun 81 pp 24-26

/Report by Juergen Leinemann: "They Do Not Think We Are Human"/

/Text/ The slight man in the blue corduroy suit and sweater, carrying a jute shoulder bag and coming straight from bible class, looks like a rural minister, only much more disgruntled. He comments acidly that there had been far too much in the way of Green and Alternative goings-on, and the "Federal Government's foreign and defense policy had generally met with what amounts to enthusiastic repudiation."

This particular man was bound to find this unwelcome news. His name is Juergen Schmude, and he is minister for justice in precisely that Bonn cabinet which was vehemently reproved in hundreds of events staged in the course of last week's Protestant Church Conference in Hamburg.

Thursday and Friday last almost all Social Democrats approached the stand with the red tables in hall 2 of the Hamburg fair grounds dejected, perplexed and annoyed. They tried their best to explain coalition policies to the crowd of 150,000 Protestants. Their courage was matched only by their lack of success--the outlook is not good for "Christians in the SPD" on the "market of opportunities," where 300 groups and initiatives discussed and offered vital aid to one another. The watchword is peace, and the SPD is currently set for rearmament.

It was supposed to be a test, and nobody expected to be received with open arms. Yet the finality of the rejection scared the Social Democrats. Lower Saxon SPD chairman Karl Ravens complained that "to begin with they do not think we are human." Former Jusos /Young Socialists/ chief Gerhard Schroeder shivered: "I have never been heckled quite so much. I was not able to make a single person comprehend our logic. None at all."

Even dialogue artist Peter Glots, the new federal executive secretary, resignedly shrugged his shoulders: "Nobody who has made his own the simplistic formula that the NATO dual resolution equates rearmament can be reached at this stage."

So they may opt mostly to listen, as did Schleswig-Holstein Bundestag deputies Horst Jungmann and Norbert Gansel. They may also, like Karsten Voigt, join an earnest group of young Christians and discuss emotionalism and rationalism as related to arms.

They may be accommodating like former Berlin mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel who allowed: "I learned much from the Alternatives." Or they may get into a stew like Family Minister Antje Huber: "You cannot expect us to abolish the entire Bundeswehr from one day to the next."

The reply is always the same: New missiles in the Federal Republic--no. Prior concessions in the name of confidence--yes.

The rulers do not even enjoy the luxury of being able to work up an honest anger about the rebuff suffered. The young people are not really hostile to the SPD, they are neither rowdy nor boisterous (as many of the Bonn people secretly feared they would be). "They tend rather to urge and importune" (Ravens), are unaggressive and upsettingly gentle.

For example nobody asked the Jusos what possessed them to come to this conference of Christians. Chairman Willy Piecyk could just as well have kept his introductory remarks in the file folder, and so could Ruediger Reitz, reporter on ecclesiastical affairs to the SPD executive committee, on the reproduction of a 1912 leaflet: "Was Christ a Social Democrat?"

The three dozen Social Democrats are acceptable as interlocutors, as addressess of disappointed hopes. Nobody is interested in the Union--it ran exactly true to form by its unanimous championship of the NATO dual resolution. Amusement rather than scorn greets the Hanns Seidel Foundation's "revelation" of Moscow as the global aggressor--"the attack is intended on the world as a whole."

Only Minister Gerhart Baum arouses some interest at the FDP stand. Liselotte Funcke stands around, totally disregarded. The written question why the citizens are so apathetic about politics is tersely answered by someone saying "just look at your party."

No, the Social Democrats cannot complain about maltreatment. Their amicable nay-sayers even applaud whenever they like someone in particular--for example Hans-Jochen Vogel who blossomed in Berlin and now hangs loose. When Vogel, somewhat embarrassed, held up his hand to stop the applause, a 17-year old encouraged him: "Just let it be, that does wonders for one's self-confidence."

They get furious only when, outside their spontaneous scene--as for instance within the Bonn framework--they are confronted with those political semantics, concepts and compelling facts which Braunschweig nuclear physicist Klaus Mueller last Friday described as the "logic of insanity": That there must be rearmament in order to advance disarmament.

They have a very fine instinct for such absurdities, for every false note, every pompous and hollow formula. On the very first evening of the conference a band from Westphalia sounded the leitmotif: Shivering in a fine rain and strong gusts of wind, the audience perked up when a singer moaned to the throbs of the guitar: "I can see no sense in rearmament, because weapons destroys us humans." Another one responded soothingly: "No, my friend, you've got it all wrong--after all, we must maintain the strategic balance."

The Social Democrats are amazed to see that the young people simply disregard anything which might be taken for information. Their mistrust of official pronouncements, of the flatulence and duplicity of political rhetoric is most evident when politicians stand off from the mercurial atmosphere of the Church Conference and strike attitudes on a rostrum or in front of the television cameras. Helmut Schmidt and Hans Apel--allegedly for security reasons--did not brave the tumult at the Church Conference proper and consequently have virtually no credibility at all among the young.

They are in fact quite aware of that. All they intended to do in Hamburg was to stand their ground--the Chancellor in front of 400 selected listeners in Altona's Trinity Church, the guest of Reinhard Appel for a ZDF broadcast, and the following day once more at a closed meeting together with Schleswig-Holstein Premier Gerhard Stoltenberg before more than 5,000 (mostly young) people; Hans Apel at the symposium "To Secure Peace" before an audience of 7,000 in the fair grounds.

After the Apel broadcast Helmut Schmidt believed (and from his standpoint he was quite justified) that he had come off reasonably well against irreverent questioners who attacked him with such remarks as "your politics scare me" (a 17-year old high school student), or "this broadcast is supposed to be 'eight citizens ask Schmidt,' not 'Schmidt lectures eight citizens'" (a lady member of the Young Union). The Chancellor scored brownie points by justifying remarmet with the somber prophesy: "He who is unable to defend himself will suffer the fate of the Afghans."

There is not much of a dialogue; everybody speaks in the context of his followers. Friday's platform discussion between questioners and Hans Apel runs a similar course--they do not talk with one another but past one another. "He's full of s..t," a 16-year old girl says furiously in crowded hall 13 when Apel asserts: "By their very nature nuclear weapons are political weapons."

At the conclusion, after some heckling, long stretches of whistling and booing, which drown out the platform--"the sun goes down, darkest night is approaching"--both sides are glad that the explosive meeting is finishing without more serious incidents. The hastily assembled protective shields are equally quickly dispersed.

Schmidt and Apel are the favorite bogeymen of the Protestant peace lovers, and not only because of their offices. They arouse protest also because their very attitude and argumentation indicate that they consider the entire movement merely naive--at best the aberration of an idealism which, though understandable, is not to be taken seriously, at worst a danger to the security of the nation.

Helmut Schmidt talks to the Church delegates in Trinity Church the way he talks to the opposition politicians in Bonn. He waits for verbal contradictions from his interlocutors, watches for weaknesses in the argument and routinely rattles off mechanical statements. What do they mean when they ask him how much of the same old politics he can still justify? When would he think his politics of the possible have reached "the end of the flag pole,"--he evidently does not feel any of this.

He obviously lacks any empathy for the unmistakable despair which lurks behind many of the questions asked by the young. One member of the audience accuses him: "We

are sitting on a powder keg," Schmidt, unmoved, counters that he, too, could imagine a pleasanter world.

Hans Apel also demonstrates that he senses nothing of the scornful bitterness which the audience in hall 13 feels for his remark that development aid is one aspect of German defense policy.

Of course Apel and Chancellor Schmidt also earned some applause in Hamburg last Friday. Except for some middleheads nobody insinuated that they did not want peace also.

Still, the doubts of their political wisdom did not diminish. Schmidt and Apel are all too different from their comrades Erhard Eppler, Hans-Jochen Vogel and Heinrich Alberts, who believe that this is a time of change. The top comrades certainly do not share the conviction of Hamburg Bishop Hans-Otto Woelber that "the slide toward the apocalypse" is imminent.

Hamburg has not made them wiser. To get an idea of the seriousness of young people's anxieties, of the explosiveness of their powerless revolt against the traditional politics of growth, progress and opportunism, both would have had to go at least once to hall 3 on the fair grounds, which was dedicated to the proposition: "For a humane development." There, above the door, a survival clock for humanity greeted the visitor--the clock showing 4 minutes to midnight.

In that hall everything could be viewed at once, which fuels the despair of the young--the perils of armaments and of nuclear power, the problems of the Third World and the crimes against human rights, the isolation of the individual and the sheer misery of far too many.

Hans-Jochen Vogel points to this collection to illustrate that the protests in Krensborg, at Frankfurt Airport and in Gorleben as well as the peace demonstrations in Hamburg feed on the same basic sentiment. Bishop Woelber expresses it in these terms: "We must cry out loudly that we cannot go on like this."

Half a dozen men and women stand in front of a white wall; they copy an anonymous poem on their writing pads. It is headlined "For Life" and dedicated to a 2-year old baby girl, Karuna. The poem was written "after the NATO resolutions."

Kindergarten and school teachers, students and mothers are copying it on their pads: "Little daughter, how long will they let you live?" And: "We refuse to have this suicide by instalments sold us as peace." The copiers intend to further distribute these lines. That is the kind of information which seems to them significant.

Peace symbolism, peace slogans everywhere. Some sound overemphatic, immature, idealistic and, for more sober minds, smack of banality and irrationalism. Still, despite all the importunity there is real underlying sincerity.

Nobels can fail to sense the intensity of anger when strolling through the "hall of silence," where hundreds of young people silently crouch on the floor, pinning to the wall the notes designed to speak for them. "Well, God, You are taking Your

sweet time about world peace," one has written. Below another contradicts him in letters writ large: "No--it is we who take too much time about world peace. Mankind."

They are not of the already classic alternative scene, the ones who crouch together on the floor in Hamburg, seeking contact and human warmth. Jo Leinen, acting spokesman of the Federal Association for Environmental Citizens Initiatives, and Juso chief Piecyk, experts in the field, agree: "These are not the people of the squatters scene, most of them not the people demonstrating at Gorleben or Brokdorf either."

Missing are Palestinian neckerchiefs as well as punk hairstyles. The young church conference attendants (most of them 15-25) do not look like revolutionaries. "The protest movement has gained recruits by adopting the peace topic," says Leinen.

From soft, childishly round and open faces their eyes gaze persistently at the mouths of the politicians addressing them. At the end they say, easily and determinedly, to an SPD leftist such as Klaus Thuesing: "What you propose sounds all very nice. Why don't you do it?"

Their attitude certainly made some impression on the Bonn comrades. Karsten Voigt discovered how little people on the Rhine know about these youngsters and complained: "After all, we ourselves are a kind of alternative society."

Hans-Jochen Vogel assured them that he has made his own their wish for agreement between speech, action and life. And the next party congress would have to discuss the counterarming resolution once more: "Many new considerations have emerged."

Gerhard Schroeder actually came to a decision: "Let whoever wants to threaten resignation. I will not vote for the deployment of missiles."

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CSO: 3103/338

CP PARTY CONGRESS DEMONSTRATED 'FEAR OF CHANGE'

Third Faction Seen Emerging

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 26 May 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Fear of Change"]

[Text] At the end of last week the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] was exposed to democracy. For over 10 years party congresses have been conducted in Helsinki with everyone obediently approving the position papers and choices of officials agreed on beforehand by party leaders. But this time the rank and file insurrection on occasion snatched the congress completely out of the hands of the party leaders.

The two top men who symbolize the state the party is now in retained their positions only because, for fear of change, nobody dared to replace them with others. A large number of congress delegates were prepared to abandon Saarinen in return for having Sinisalo replaced. However, Sinisalo's troops feared that such a change would bring a chairman with a tougher line into the party leadership and, for this reason as well as to present a unanimous front, minority-faction members did not budge from behind Sinisalo. So the situation congealed into an unalterable one for the same reason it frequently had before, for fear of change.

Actually, both of the candidates who were elected were backed by minorities: Sinisalo by the party's radical wing and Saarinen by only a third of the majority faction. Neither of the two can be said to have really gained the confidence of the rank and file.

The paradox of communism lies precisely in the fact that that party, which advertises itself as being the most democratic of all, is the one that is most centrally run. The lack of advance planning which is now being experienced constitutes an exceptional experience in democracy for the SKP.

The "peace opposition" that seemed to be so strong at the congress did not in the end gain enough support for its ideas. It too was a "Polish phenomenon." The desire to replace their leaders was a strong one but the alternative movement lacked leadership because no one consented to running against Saarinen. So the insurrection stifled itself.

On the other hand, the demands of the rank and file led to a near complete cleanup of the party organizations. An object of dissatisfaction, the mafia of party officials had to leave their positions of trust. Specifically, the number of changes in personnel on the Central Committee means a reform of SKP leadership that is more far-reaching than ever before in the history of the party's public activities.

The congress very clearly concentrated on candidate issues but, of course, this did not conceal the political division in the background. More clearly than before, there are now three factions: in addition to the minority and the majority, a "peace opposition" aiming at unity. This faction is already so strong in terms of numbers that its goals cannot help but clearly influence party activity in the next few years. Pressures for change are so strong that Saarinen and Sinisalo can justifiably be said to be on probation as party leaders.

Conservative Party Congress Contrasted

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 26 May 81 p 2

[Article by Martti Haikio: "Suominen and SKP's Partners"]

[Text] Our country's political future is in the hands of the parties. This is why it is not immaterial in whose hands the parties are.

The line between a broadly based majority government and a government composed of all the parties is the one that runs between the Conservative Party and the SKP. These two parties represent both the parties themselves and how Finns view the basic confrontation that divides our political life. At the moment it would appear that there is no force on earth that could get the Conservative Party into the government nor the Communists out of it. Even the thought of their sitting down together in the same government is impossible.

The week's time between party congresses affords us a good opportunity to consider this basic situation. The ever clearer point of departure for the next presidential elections, namely that each party is getting ready to go to the polls with its own candidate, makes a critical examination of the situation of particular interest.

Ilkka Suominen

Ilkka Suominen's probation period ended in the Conservative Party congress held over a week ago in Finlandia House. Now we can and should evaluate him as party chairman.

The election of the chairman 2 years ago met with a great deal of criticism. Many felt that Harry Holkeri, not a party congress that democratically debated the matter, chose Ilkka Suominen.

The first item on the agenda to be attended to in terms of the evaluations to be made during the congress now being held is the self-evidence of Suominen's position as party leader. It is downright amazing how firmly Suominen is entrenched. This is particularly evident when we compare Suominen's position with that of the neighboring party's Paavo Vayrynen who may find it hard to beat Johannes Virolainen this summer.

Another thing that has aroused interest is the way in which Suominen has swept the frequent internal disputes out of sight — if, however, perhaps not out of existence. The fact that they no longer speculated at the congress on the party's fragmentation due to adopted sons, differences of opinion on the platform, deserters or quarrels between the parliamentary delegation and the party bureau was an achievement by the new chairman that was noteworthy.

Suominen's sovereignty in his own party also puts the presidential debate in a new light. Since the Conservative Party has so quickly and solidly identified itself with Ilkka Suominen, it is hard to imagine any other presidential candidate for the party, assuming that it actually enters the elections from a clearcut party configuration.

SKP's Partners

The SKP party congress, which came to an end at the end of last week, confirmed the party split in its choices of leaders. From now on too, Aarne Saarinen and Taisto Sinisalo will be required at each interview at which questions on positions the party assumes are raised. Every issue dealt with at the party congress was characterized by the party's division into two immovable camps.

When we also bear in mind that the SKP does not participate in Finnish elections independently but under the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] flag carried by Kalevi Kivisto, we realize that there are actually three very organized opinions as to how Finland should find its way to socialism and communism.

There is nothing new about this. What is, on the other hand, new is the launching of a search for a suitable party presidential candidate. The paradox that is peculiar to the above-described three-way split is the fact that the chairman of the SKP's cover organization, the SKDL, is really one of the most unlikely of the party's presidential candidates.

It even seems to be the case that the SKP candidate's most important quality is the fact that he does not belong to his own party.

Starting Positions

In comparing the Conservative Party and SKP party congresses, there is reason to keep in mind the starting positions in 1966. The Conservative Party joined the opposition when the parliamentary elections resulted in a support base of 13.8 percent. Having been on the brink of disintegration and with two changes of chairman behind it, the party now appears to be more united and stronger than ever before in its history.

In the 1966 elections, which ended with the SKDL's wandering in the wilderness, it received 21.2 percent of the votes cast. Then-elected SKP chairman Aarne Saarinen and the split that arose within the party are still with us. The party's real support in Finland is still a big mystery since the SKP has never polled itself on its own. It has, however, not grown in 15 years time.

In other words, after the Conservative Party and SKP party congresses are over, it appears that next fall the debate on the presidency — as well as on other political issues — will be launched from a drama the interpreters of whose three main roles have already been named: Suominen and the SKP's two partners.

The difference is that Suominen alone would clearly wield greater political power than Saarinen, Sinisalo and Kivisto together — if they were to sign a joint power agreement.

Stalinist Organ Evaluates Congress

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 26 May 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Outcome of Party Congress"]

[Text] The 19th SKP Party Congress demonstrated that the state the party is in is cause for concern, but also that there are certain signs of a turn for the better in a particularly chaotic situation. Rank and file members strongly desire a sharpening of party policy and the achievement of agreement on decisions, which is the most important prerequisite to the furtherance of unity.

As emphasized in numerous speeches, all of the party congress decisions carry on the line pursued at the 17th and 18th party congresses. The political record of the proceedings will generate the party's major policy of opposition to big capital. Appraisals of it, its long-range objectives and specific immediate demands are aimed at peace and the furtherance of our national interests and those of the working class. This position paper will provide the SKP with opportunities to develop a fighting revolutionary party, if only we begin to, in practice, implement it now.

As far as the social security tax is concerned, removal of the passage that opposed it by voting on the text of the political position paper does not mean that the party congress has taken a stand for such taxation, at least not a majority. Such a position would have been against the party's principles and the resolution adopted by the 18th party congress.

The organizational policy paper specifies what has to be done to strengthen the party's organizational operations, unity and power to act. The indispensability of observing the rules is stressed in the paper. Observation of the rules means, among other things, that the party congress is the highest decision-making body and that its decisions are binding, that members have equal status and that members' opinions are to be heard, that affairs are to be handled collectively and that party division and discrimination are to be abandoned. If discrimination is not abandoned, the SKP's situation will get worse. This too was in the spirit of the congress. In his concluding statement, chairman Saarinen also reminded his listeners that the rules do not entitle anyone to dictate terms or assume an arbitrary disciplinary attitude. This was particularly aimed at vice chairman Sinisalo.

All of the congress' prestigious international delegations and the entire proceedings of the congress confirmed the fact that the SKP is and will continue to be a party that is firmly anchored to Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, a steadfast member of the international communist movement that has solid fraternal relations with the NKP [Soviet Communist Party] and the other brother parties.

Neither certain ideas to the contrary expressed during the congress nor a delegation meeting that went on for many hours were able to cause them to waver on this point.

An unprecedented, vigorous campaign was engaged in at the congress to displace chairmen Saarinen and Sinisalo and to form a Central Committee purely on the basis of a list of candidates. An attempt to move the party leaders' fixed-role policy more to the right of what it has been was behind this long-prepared campaign. During the campaign, starting from a local delegation base, they openly tried to pressure nine district-organization delegations to back a change of leadership. The attempt, however, came to nought and the chairmen were reelected.

There were a large number of changes in the party Central Committee and Political Bureau. From the standpoint of party principles and class-based policy, many changes, for example, the election of Pentti Salo, Marjatta Stenius and Esko-Juhani Tennila to the Political Bureau, ensure that the party line that has proven itself trustworthy will be continued despite the changes. Nevertheless, there is reason to assert that the dropping of certain comrades from the party leadership who have served the party well, especially Oiva Lehto who ever since the underground period has in many ways contributed, working unselfishly for the good of the party and its class-line policy, represents a loss to the party.

Now is the time to discuss and make public the party congress resolutions and to begin to carry them out in practice.

Saarinen Backs USSR in Afghanistan

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 26 May 81 p 6

[Article: "Aarne Saarinen: United States Responsible for International Tension"]

[Text] "Imperialism and the nation that directs it, the United States, are alone responsible for the increasingly critical international situation," SKP chairman Aarne Saarinen asserted in the Central Committee activity report he presented to the party congress.

The legalities of capitalism and imperialism and the interests associated with the preservation of positions held by the leading nation of the capitalist world are behind the changes in U.S. foreign policy. They constitute an attempt to respond to the balance of power that has evolved in the world, an attempt to regain lost positions and achieve supremacy in the world. For the first time during the 1950's they began to talk of the possibility of winning a nuclear war in the inner circle of U.S. leaders and since last August the doctrine of a limited nuclear war has been an official part of the country's military strategy. We have to say it straight out: This doctrine is a doctrine for the destruction of European civilization.

The attempt to create difficulties for the development of the socialist countries through an arms race and the threat of war, the attempt to preserve the big Western monopolies' sources of energy and raw materials by supporting neocolonialism and the attempt to protect their economic interests by combining their war industries are behind U.S. policy.

Under the circumstances, many people are asking whether detente was self-deception and whether the world is inevitably being driven toward war. We vehemently reject such pessimistic thoughts. On the contrary, that objective foundation, those forces through the results of whose efforts detente came into being and which can see to it that it is maintained and disarmament is effected, do exist. They are the Soviet Union and the other countries participating in socialist cooperation and the neutral and uncommitted nations together with the international communist and workers movement in widespread peace movements.

The peace program presented at the recently held 26th NKP Party Congress, for which the SKP announces its full support, points to the direction joint peace forces action should take. It is a demonstration of the Soviet Union's consistent peace policy, which is by its very nature completely opposed to U.S. policy. When rightist forces try to identify these two opposing policies by means of the "superpowers" theory, their aim is to strip people of their historical optimism. This is precisely why socialism and peace belong inseparably together and constitute the hope and future of the world.

The SKP expresses its solidarity with peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting imperialism. We are working toward the development of a broad solidarity movement, toward which new opportunities have now been opened, especially among young people. El Salvador's young fighters are right now an example of a real desire for freedom.

Western propaganda has exploited what has been happening in Afghanistan as a weapon in their anti-Soviet propaganda and as a pretext to bring the international situation to a head. It is befitting for the SKP to assert its solidarity with the people of Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Party in their struggle for national independence and the safeguarding of the achievements of the revolution. As regards the Afghan issue, we must work for a political solution that will put an end to and prevent the intervention of foreign elements in the country's affairs and protect the country's independence.

Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Agreement to Be Extended

Finland's peace-seeking foreign policy is based on the Finnish-Soviet Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Agreement which is of lasting significance. Today, even forces that once opposed it approve of it. However, the extensive network of Finnish-Soviet agreements is still not used to anywhere near full advantage. The SKP is constantly working to promote cooperation between our two countries in the different walks of life. It is precisely the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Agreement, the extension of which our party feels to be self-evident, that creates a basis for this.

The SKP is of the opinion that Finland and the Finns must activate their efforts for detente and disarmament to develop a widespread peace movement. The cooperation of the worker movement of Finland and also of those of the other Nordic countries, for example, in carrying out President Kekkonen's proposals for a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Nordic countries, for which new opportunities are now opening up for the proposals to be received in the Nordic countries' trade-union movement and other worker movement districts with broader support than before, would be of particular importance.

Sinisalo Urges Ideological Renewal

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 26 May 81 pp 7-8

[Speech by Finnish Communist Party vice chairman Taisto Sinisalo delivered at the inauguration of the 19th SKP Party Congress]

[Excerpts] One of the main directions bourgeois propaganda is moving in is emphasis and focus on the individual and the branding of efforts toward unity among people with the negative epithet of "mass." Such watchwords as "the individual is of most importance" do not reflect a concern for the welfare of the common man, rather the Right's attempts to isolate people from one another.

You can get the individual to believe in Gallup democracy and the magical power of the solitude of the poll booth. But it is getting harder to do all the time.

Progressive democracy is in a state of crisis. People are demanding an extension of their opportunities for influencing the course of events in the government, on the job and in the local districts they live in. Supervision over the democratic process and the demand for public airing of the decision-making process have become more and more important objectives.

Of greatest importance is the achievement of democratic supervision on the job. Employers' control must be radically curtailed and worker organizations and representatives' decision-making power and rights to act extended. We must arrive at a situation in which no one can be given notice or a leave of absence in violation of local union or labor board rules. This is one of the basic issues in the extension of democratic rights.

Strengthening of Ideological Foundation

International examples like our own country's experiences speak convincingly for the absolute necessity of strengthening the party's idealistic foundation and increasing the effectiveness of our ideological efforts. Negligence in this area will easily lead to fatal consequences. When an ideological and intellectual vacuum arises, it is filled with something else with unexpected rapidity. Disengagement from the socialist ideology inevitably furthers a strengthening of the bourgeois ideology.

Our ideology will not decline because it is not a vigorous and vital one. Time after time, history has demonstrated that claims about the obsolescence of Marxism-Leninism are wrong. The basic reason for the growing ideological strength of the working class theory of revolution lies in the fact that it raises questions arising from practical experience which involve matters that are burning issues for people: differing social values and the elimination of exploitation, the building and development of a classless society under peaceful living conditions.

The battle between two different world systems is at the heart of the ideological struggle. This is why the first item on the agenda is to decisively raise the question of the Soviet Union, the whole existing form of socialism and its defense. Not just because we should take a stand on the question of the fate of socialism, but because the question of our fate lies therein.

The mission of this party congress is to determine the basic lines our party's policy will follow for the next 3-year period. They will be written into the draft of the political position paper in which we vigorously demand a new policy.

Government Question

The question of the government, participation in the government and government policy, which has been under discussion with reference to the potential for achieving our objectives, has occupied a central position. It also constitutes one of the chief sources of the problems we recognize.

In principle there is no predominant difference of opinion in the party districts over Communist participation in the government in our country in general. It is — if and when the conditions therefor arise or are given rise to — a part of our cooperation with forces dependent on other worker interests. In principle there is no predominant difference of opinion as to a basis for the government either.

Our problems arise over how we should relate to government policy. Communists cannot participate in a bourgeois government just for the sake of participation. We cannot start from the point of view that cooperation must be preserved at any cost, regardless of government policy. Such a price may be too costly.

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CSO: 3107/99

SOCIALIST POLICY: EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA, LATIN SUBSIDIARIES

Sao Paulo ISTO E in Portuguese 27 May 81 p 40

[Interview with Socialist Party Latin America adviser, Antoine Blanca: "Diplomacy with Principles"; place, date and name of interviewer not given]

[Text] French diplomacy under Francois Mitterand will give more attention to Latin America than under Giscard d'Estaing. Among prospective measures, some are controversial, such as granting aid to revolutionary movements supported by the Socialist International and restrictions on arms sales to dictatorial regimes. Antoine Blanca, 44, adviser on Latin America for the French Socialist Party, will have much influence on this policy. Blanca granted the following interview to ISTO E last week.

ISTO E: At least three industrial groups to be nationalized by the new government (Rhone-Poulenc, Saint-Gobain and Creusot-Loire) have subsidiaries in Brazil. What will happen to them?

Blanca: There is a widespread campaign, not only in Brazil but in other countries of the continent, to distort the truth and present Francois Mitterand as a communist. I appeal to such governments to become acquainted with the reality of our program. Renault, for example, a company nationalized by De Gaulle, had interests in Chile and Argentina without any problem. Banks, which also have been nationalized, such as Credit Lyonnais and Societe Generale, are affiliated with others in Brazil without any negative consequence. Nationalization does not mean bureaucratization. On the contrary, there will be a new positive dynamism for relations with Brazilian firms.

ISTO E: How will relations of the president's party be with the opposition parties in Brazil?

Blanca: There is no party in Brazil that is a member of the Socialist International --which we regret. Having said that, we maintain relations with the Workers Party (PT) and hope to increase our contacts with the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party], potentially a great party that is strengthening its position as a reformist force for proposals similar to ours.

ISTO E: What about the PDT [Democratic Labor Party]?

Blanca: Leonel Brizola unilaterally broke off relations with us and with most European socialist and social-democratic parties. The lack of contact is his fault; he says the Socialist International has a poor image in Brazil. So it is he who does not want to know about it. In fact, it looks as if Brizola used the Socialist International when he was in exile to enhance his credibility and once he got back to Brazil preferred not to retain the old friendships.

INTO E: What will be the new guidelines of the socialist team for Latin America?

Blanca: France lost some of its moral standing by emphasizing state-to-state relations without taking into account value judgments about dictatorial regimes and the so-called national-security regimes. We will make value judgments in respect to human rights and in respect to whether or not governments are an outcome of universal suffrage. We have no intention of being the moral guardian of the whole world. But there are symbolic gestures that can be made.

INTO E: What initiatives will France take about the suffocating foreign debt of non-petroleum-exporting Third World countries?

Blanca: The influence of France will not be merely moral. Taking into consideration the relatively poor countries, we will launch proposals about their debts and bilateral negotiations. But we must have the support of the Third World governments themselves, as there can be no policy that depends solely on the developed countries. I say, perhaps harshly, that there are governments more interested in the welfare of the governing elite and the privileged few than in that of the people.

INTO E: What about arms sales to Third World countries?

Blanca: France is the world's third largest exporter of arms, but I can say that this sector will not be a priority of the government. Clearly, the selective reduction of arms sales will be gradual. We saw France selling arms simultaneously to Iran and to Iraq, which is consistent only with total political cynicism. On the other hand, in the case of a country such as Nicaragua, forced to buy weapons on the black market, as even Cuba refuses to sell to it, I don't know what attitude the new government will take, but I don't think it is immoral to sell arms so the Nicaraguan people can defend their territorial integrity.

INTO E: What treatment will be given Nicaragua, which has been assisted by the social democrats?

Blanca: Nicaragua is trying to rebuild a nation devastated by a war that a family of mercenaries waged against the people. The Sandinist Front asserts its desire to establish a pluralistic democracy. But there are difficulties. One example is rebuilding the cattle herd, decimated by the civil war, and which Cuba is willing to sell at a reasonable price. The United States then announced that it would no longer import meat from Nicaragua. Washington also suspended portions of its economic aid. There are also those who encourage the gangs of Somozists based in Honduras and the training camps in Florida. We believe, therefore, that there is aggression against Nicaragua and we are going to ask the United States to reconsider its position. What do they want? A repetition of Cuba, which, faced with the blockade and its closed ports, turned to the Soviet Union? Is it writing off Nicaragua?

ISTO E: How does the new government intend to counterbalance American influence in El Salvador?

Blanca: The Socialist Party has recognized the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador. We are not going to forget our earlier promises now. We believe in a political solution, in which the United States, Mexico and Canada would have their say, but we do not believe, as does Salvadoran President Napoleon Duarte, that the political solution is free elections. We are aware that if the FDR people return, lay down their arms and begin working again, the government will not even guarantee their lives. The leaders will be dead within a short time, unless they remain in hiding. It is not realistic to suppose that free elections will solve the problem of El Salvador.

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SUPREME COURT DECIDES 'ALIENS LIABLE TO CONSCRIPTION'

Nicosia THE CYPRUS WEEKLY in English 12-18 Jun 81 p 28

[Text] The controversial issue of "alien" youths being called to serve in the Cyprus National Guard has been finally resolved. The Supreme Court has decided by majority that they are liable to conscription.

After months of confusion and argument, the five-man Bench decided by four to one that youths of foreign nationality but of Cypriot parents should do their service in the army just like any other citizen of the Republic.

The court's decision is final. In October last year, one Judge of the Supreme Court, Mr Savvides, ruled that the youths in question had a right to refuse to join the army. His ruling was supported by another Judge, Mr Malachos.

Appeal

But the majority decision of the four other judges, read by the Court President, Mr Michael Triantafyllides, dismissed the applicants' petition that they should be exempted from conscription.

The court was acting on an appeal by the Minister of

the Interior and Defence against the original ruling of Judge Savvides.

The case involved Simeon Droushiotis, 20, of South Africa, and others facing a similar situation. Droushiotis was born in South Africa in April 1961. His father was a Cypriot immigrant and when he died, Simeon, his mother (holding a British passport) and two sisters came back to Cyprus.

Descendant

His age group was called up last October, and he applied to the Court, since he was an alien.

The case of the Republic was that although "technically an alien", the applicant was a resident of Cyprus and enjoyed the rights and privileges of a Cypriot national.

He should not therefore avoid the obligation to serve in the National Guard using the excuse that he "happened to be born in a foreign country".

The main argument was that the applicant was a descendant 'in the male line' of a person born in Cyprus after November 1914, and since

his parents were ordinarily residents of Cyprus he was liable to serve.

'Unconstitutional'

This was made possible as a result of the enactment of section 2(3) of the National Guard (Amendment) Law of 1978 which made citizens of the Republic, for conscription purposes, persons who are of Cypriot origin from their parent's side.

Judges Savvides and Malachos held the view that the amending section was unconstitutional. Mr Malachos said in his separate judgment: 'The nationality of a person cannot be changed for the purpose of serving in the armed forces of a foreign state'.

But the majority found the relevant section was not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution and the Treaty of Establishment.

Editor's Note: We apologise to readers who had written to us about the confused situation concerning conscription. We could not comment on this issue while the appeal was pending before the Supreme Court.

STATISTICS ON GREEK CYPRIOTS IN NORTH PUBLISHED

Nicosia THE CYPRUS WEEKLY in English 12-18 Jun 81 p 3

[Text]

There are now 1,180 Greek Cypriots living in the Turkish-held North, mostly in the Karpas peninsula, according to the latest report of the UN Secretary-General.

It says UNFICYP continues to 'discharge humanitarian functions' for them, though the Force's freedom of movement in the North is restricted.

During the period covered by the report (December to May) more than 500 Greek Cypriots visited the south for family reasons and 24 of them for medical reasons.

Schools

But only one Greek Cypriot was given permission by the Turks to visit the North - to attend a relative's funeral. Greek Cypriot children attending secondary school in the south were also not al-

lowed to visit their parents in the North during the Christmas holidays.

There are two Greek Cypriot primary schools operating in the North - one at Ayia Trias with 34 pupils and the other at Rizokarpaso with 72 children.

'Permanent transfers' of Greek Cypriots from North to South continued, although at a slower pace than before. There were only nine such transfers, three of them children, compared to 102 during the previous six-month period. This left 1,180 Greek Cypriots in the North.

Payments

Weidheim says in his report: 'Transfers continue to be monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily'.

UNCIVPOL distributed social welfare payments to

Greek Cypriots in the North amounting to over £83,000 during the period under review. UNFICYP, on the other hand, delivered or distributed 383 tons (or 157 truckloads) of foodstuffs, clothing, gas and diesel oil.

The Maronites living in the North enjoy more freedom of movement, and contacts between members of the Maronite group residing on opposite sides of the line remain frequent.

There is also a group of Turkish Cypriots living in the South and UNFICYP officers pay them periodic visits. Contacts with relatives in the North are thus maintained.

The report gives the following detail about them: 'Seven Turkish Cypriots crossed to the South, and six Turkish Cypriots returned to the North, during the period under review'.

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